

# News-SOCIAL Letter ACTION

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## Warburg Challenges U.S. Foreign Policy

James P. Warburg, retired businessman and financier, is rapidly coming to be recognized as one of the elder statesmen in the field of U.S. foreign policy. On the 85th anniversary issue of *The Nation* (Dec. 16), Mr. Warburg writes on a "Idea for a Positive Policy," in terms calculated to dispel the fog in the mind of the average citizen and help him to see what is wrong with our foreign relations; why we seem to be heading straight into World War III, and what our government could do to prevent that catastrophe. His arguments are summarized below.

The present crisis, says Mr. Warburg, stems from several major forces which have emerged during the past half-century. Among these are, the shift of the center of gravity from Europe to America leaving a vast power vacuum in those parts of the world formerly controlled by European powers; the revolt in Asia against foreign rule and indigenous semi-feudal tyranny; the awakening of men everywhere to the fact that through science and technology the means now exist to lessen, if not eliminate completely, hunger, poverty, disease, and ignorance; and finally, the coming to an end of a period in which sovereign nation-states have indulged in international anarchy, making force the ultimate sanction; and the emergence of a new era in which "nations can no longer commit murder without simultaneously committing suicide."

### Fallacies in U.S. Policy

Our foreign policy seems to be based on the assumption, says Mr. Warburg, that all would be well were it not, in the words of President Truman, "one nation, and one nation alone, has obstructed the making of a just and honorable peace." Such a concept, he says, is primarily negative, despite the seemingly affirmative character of a determination to create "situations of strength." Actually it means nothing more than digging trenches and rearing barricades to "contain" Russian aggression. In pursuing this negative policy we have assumed ill-considered military commitments beyond our ability to fulfill. In attempting to build up our military power commensurate with our promises, we have embarked on our dangerous courses: (1) We have taken the first steps toward a garrison state. Even though we have not yet embarked on complete mobilization, we have initiated enough military expansion to endanger our domestic economy unless we adopt far stricter controls than are now contemplated. (2) We have committed ourselves to send a large part of our increased combat force to Europe to hold a position in central Germany against Russia's known 175 divisions, thus surrendering our freedom of strategic action if war should come and making more likely another Dunkirk (or perhaps another Lungnam! - ed.). The question is whether this can be done while at the same time

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## War And

## Christian Conscience

One manifestation of the depth of the present crisis is the profound struggle going on in the conscience of Christians, the focus of which is the problem of how far Christians can accept responsibility for maintaining the institutions of civilization when this involves mass destruction of life and treasure.

Last March the Federal Council of Churches appointed a commission to propose some guidance on this problem. At the final biennial assembly of the Council November 27 and 28 at Cleveland the commission made its report. It is certainly one of the more important declarations of Christians in our day. The text is too long for even a summary here. It may be obtained on request from the Department of Social Welfare, "Christian Conscience and Weapons of Mass Destruction" being its title.

Space is available here for only a few comments which may indicate the nature of the problem and the mind of the report.

It should be noted first that the report explicitly views the situation from the standpoint of "Christians who are citizens of the United States." Although it confesses that Christians must seek to see the situation as God sees it, and hence to free themselves from their nationalistic prejudices, it holds that such is not possible. And so it offers little guidance for Chinese Christians, for example, in their present situation, or for Russian, or French, or Japanese Christians. The report, therefore, makes no pretense of setting forth the Gospel of Christ on these issues but rather presents the conscience of some American Christians in the light of contemporary conditions.

From this limited perspective the introduction of the report spells out in fuller terms than any similar previous declaration has done the terrible sinfulness of all war and the heightened evil of modern wars. It confesses that the dynamic of war itself has broken through all moral defenses which men have tried to build against its destructiveness. But the burden of the first of its two main sections is an effort to construct a theological rationale by which, if not war itself, at least Christian engagement in war, may be delimited.

God has called certain Christians to the pacifist witness, so the report goes, which is a "clearer" witness to the Gospel than that of those who willingly, though without hate and with penitence, accept war

## Visser 'tHooft Calls For A 'Fighting Church'

One of the significant addresses delivered at the Constituting Convention of the National Council of the Churches of Christ meeting in Cleveland, November 27 - December 1, was that of Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, who called for a 'fighting church' to meet the problems of the present hour.

### The Church and the World of Nations

"When we consider the present situation of the church in the world of nations," said Dr. Visser 't Hooft, our temptation is to concentrate our attention on the dramatic and perhaps catastrophic developments in the political realm rather than upon the less sensational events in the life of the church.

"The rise of totalitarianisms that demand complete and exclusive loyalty of the whole nation brings the Church once again into open conflict with the world. From the zonal demarcation line in Germany to the Pacific Ocean, the Church confronts a powerful ideology which considers that religion is an obstacle on the road to happiness and that the struggle against religion is an imperative duty for those who would liberate man. At the same time in large areas where the Christian Church was indirectly protected by the existence of at least nominally Christian governments, it is now up against majority religions with a strong and new self-consciousness which considers Christianity as a foreign and dangerous intruder in their national cultures.

"This puts the Church in a new situation which is at the same time a very old situation. The Church must learn to fight.

"The fighting Church discovers that God's word is really not bound. At first sight it seems ludicrous to speak of the freedom of the fighting Churches. Are they not surrounded by obstacles and held by insuperable chains? Still it is a fact that these Churches discover a deeper freedom, a freedom which no one can take away from them.

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Editorial Staff

James A. Crain                      Walter W. Sikes  
Mrs. Ruth Estes Milner

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## 'Fighting Church' . . .

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 2)

"The whole Church of Christ should share in that joyful knowledge. We should not get obsessed with all that we hear about political compromises made by church leaders. These are indeed serious matters, but they do not reflect the true and deep life of the Church. The real story of the churches under pressure is the story of new life, of true revival, yes, and of evangelism and growth in spite of the totalitarian attempt to eradicate Christianity.

### The Church the Defender of Human Values

"The second important fact about the Church in our time is that it becomes increasingly the chief guardian of the human values . . . these values which so many humanists and secularists sought to defend apart from the Church have suddenly proved to be homeless and rootless. They cannot live by themselves. They are swept away when the storm comes — unless they are strongly anchored in a faith that can stand any storm, a faith which knows of eternal, divine and therefore unshakable, standards and commandments.

"But it is especially in the totalitarian situation that the Church's role as guardian of the human values stand out in clear outline. Where man is seen merely as a member of a collectivist society there the Church comes in the unique position of being the one and only defender of man as a person.

"Even if the field of action of the Church is narrowed down by all the sorts of obstacles its basic witness remains, and that witness cannot fail to have its long range repercussions.

"The third great fact of the Church in our time is that it rediscovers its essential unity. Let us not think that the ecumenical movement is merely the religious replica of political movements toward unity which have grown up in the last decades. If it were it would have collapsed during the last World War and it would not be able to maintain its cohesion in the present deeply divided state of the world. No, the deepest motive of the ecumenical movement is that fundamentally Biblical motive that there is one body of Christ and that those who call themselves by His name dare not rest until they have demonstrated that oneness.

## The MidCentury

### White House Conference

During the dark and anxious hours of national and international tension the Midcentury White House Conference for Children and Youth met the week of December 3 in the Nation's capitol.

The large delegation of some 6,000 people represented government and private, religious and secular child-serving agencies who came together "to consider how we can develop in children the mental, emotional, and spiritual qualities essential to individual happiness and to responsible citizenship, and what physical, economic, and social conditions are deemed necessary to this development."

Close to 300 international observers from 41 foreign countries and representatives from 37 governmental and volunteer international organizations were among the conference participants. Also, included in the delegation were 500 young people of high school and college age.

The conference was set up with general sessions, conference panels and work groups. In addition, during the two-hour noon recess each day there were motion picture showings and discussions. Even though numerous panels were planned for each morning every group was crowded beyond capacity. The same situation prevailed in the 35 work groups meeting for 3 hours each afternoon. But even with such crowded conditions there was opportunity for individual participation which stimulated greater interest and made for a more productive outcome.

Delegates could choose the panel they wished to attend, but attendance at work-groups had been pre-determined by assignment prior to the convening of the conference.

Illustrative of the discussions and information one came in contact with is one of the panels in which the writer participated, "The Meaning of Citizen Responsibility in Our Society." It was pointed out that one of the basic reasons for the withdrawal of individuals from citizenship functions is the growing conviction that the citizen has no power in the control of society. Under the development of gigantism the individual has surrendered his right of individual choice. Unions, big business and corporations almost literally determine what the individual shall learn to be. However, it was further pointed out that there are still areas in which free choice can be made such as schools, churches, etc. It is urgent, then, that we begin to teach our children and youth the meaning of moral free choice in a free society, and conversely, teach them what it means to lose the right of free choice — what it means to live in a totalitarian state.

Some techniques suggested to encourage citizen participation were (1) Person to person contact in the community in the interest of citizenship responsibility; (2)

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## Washington Round Up

**UMT and UMS.** The crisis has given impetus to the campaign of the Pentagon for some form of universal military service. Congress must now decide whether to continue the present draft machinery or give consideration to a proposal such as that of Dr. Conant for universal service for all young men 18-20. There would be no deferments for students or others. Conant would place the physically unfit in non-military government directed service, in factories, or war work of some nature. Both the AFL and CIO have indicated their continued opposition to such legislation, since Army directed men in defense industries would seriously weaken the collective bargaining process. Educators joined labor in criticizing Dr. Conant's proposals because a draft of all young men from 18-20 would wreck their program to train doctors, scientists, and other professional men. Washington observers were generally agreed that the proposal was a "trial balloon" by the Armed Services to test public reaction. Furthermore, it seemed probable that the Korean crisis was being used to secure UMT or UMS as stand-by legislation since many of its features can not be implemented during actual war when the officer corps is serving elsewhere. The new Congress may decide to shelve these bills and simply lower the draft age to 18 with the later possibility that veterans between 18-26 will be drafted.

**EAST-WEST Settlement.** Decisions on foreign policy are seldom based on clear cut alternatives. Some of the problems which try the souls of the diplomats are listed below.

1. The atom bomb is a deterrent to Russian aggression in Europe — but it will lose this force in 2 years, and possibly sooner. Russia might march into Europe in the Spring, while the UN forces are busy in the Far East.

2. A Russian invasion of Western Europe would result in the liquidation of the leaders of democratic Europe.

3. A UN war in China would be impossible to win in the conventional sense. The thinking of some foreign policy advisers is that such a war should be avoided at all cost.

4. Russia fears the West, and does not have confidence in our statements that we will not drop the atom bomb first. European leaders facing the dreadful prospect of Russian invasion are placing their faith in negotiation as evidenced by Prime Minister Atlee's suggestion that the UN recognize Red China, and negotiate the Korean and Formosan problems. Likewise, India and other eastern countries are backward about a UN arms challenge of Russia. India is close to Russia and the threat is immediate and real. The United States actually stands alone — it is the only powerful adversary of the Communist forces which still has time and distance on its side.

Robert A. Fangmeier

## On Social Frontiers

**Population Distribution.** The 1950 census shows a total U.S. population of 150,000,000, distributed as follows: children under 14, 27%; students over 14, 5%; wives, 22 percent; white collar workers, 19%; industrial workers, 16%; farmers 5%; jobless and armed forces, 1%; and retired and unable to work, 4%.

**White Congregation Calls Negro Pastor.** The Staffordville Congregational Church of Stafford, Connecticut, has called the Rev. Roland T. Heacock, 56-year-old World War II Negro chaplain, its minister. He will also serve as chaplain of the local American Legion post.

**Where the Money Goes.** The Russell Sage Foundation says that the average American family of four had an income of \$1,004 last year, out of which \$111 went for tobacco, \$218 for alcoholic beverages, and \$554 for such items as the Marshall Plan, national defense and social security. The remainder, \$96.89, perhaps that explains a number of things!

**'The Nation' Celebrates.** The Nation, the oldest political weekly in the U.S., marked its 85th anniversary on December 1, by the publication of a 124-page special edition devoted to a discussion of Peace With Russia — Can it be Negotiated? President headed a list of distinguished world personalities who extended greetings. Fifty-three leaders of the American community join editor Freda Kirchwey in sponsoring a discussion of how atomic war may be averted without sacrificing the principles that undergird the democratic way of life. Twenty-four leading persons take part in the symposium examining the roots of the conflict in Asia. Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, the revolutionary ferment in the world and its bearing on the East-West struggle. The special edition sells for 20c per copy and may be obtained from news stands or from The Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York 7.

**Survey of Gambling.** One of the most complete summaries on gambling to be found anywhere is the December 2, 1950, issue of *Information Service*, published by the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth, New York 10. The money involved in gambling runs from an estimated minimum of \$6,800,000,000 to \$21,500,000,000, including only pari-mutuel betting, off-the-track betting (book-making), sports pools, numbers pools, and slot machines. The figures do not include lotteries, raffles, and other forms of gambling. The rake-off to the operators in many forms of gambling run from 40-80 percent. The Kefauver Committee is beginning to reveal the extent to which gambling is linked with crime and crooked politics in the U.S. In Chicago two men have been shot to death, presumably to prevent them from testifying to gambling operations.

## Methodists Warn Their Colleges

The Commission on World Peace of The Methodist Church, which carries on its roster the names of six Bishops and an array of well-known names in Methodism including that of Ralph W. Soekman, Harold A. Bosley, and Dr. Georgia Harkness, on November 16, adopted a resolution dealing with ROTC units on Methodist college campuses. The resolution says,

"We are aware of the difficulties of our Methodist educational institutions in these times. They are faced by rising costs, uncertainty as to future enrollments, and declining income from endowments. In these circumstances, some see a possibility of security through installation of a unit of the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

It is the feeling of this Commission that the educational institutions of our church have a unique function to perform, and that without this uniqueness they have no function. It is essential that in their internal affairs they remain completely free from governmental or military control. They must be free to study all questions in the light of Christian truth. To this end, they must be free to determine what courses shall be offered, and how, and by whom. The installation of a military unit, with its inflexible requirements and atmosphere of indoctrination, inevitably means the loss of essential freedoms.

It is our recommendation that the educational institutions of our church resist the lure of temporary security when it comes in this guise, and to maintain for those students who come to them an atmosphere of Christian freedom. We further recommend that our church recognize the difficulties which these institutions face, and give them assurance of all necessary support."

## Brotherhood Month

Several annual emphases on the concerns of brotherhood during February commend the use of the period as "Brotherhood Month." For the 29th year Race Relations Sunday will be observed February 11. The National Conference of Christians and Jews promote February 18 to 24 as "Brotherhood Week" with nationwide emphasis on radio and in the press. The National Council of Church Women use the first Friday of Lent (February 16) as the World Day of Prayer. And our annual Week of Compassion is February 18 to 25.

The Department of Social Welfare is making available program resources for these emphases. A Message, "All Men Are Brothers," and worship resources have been sent to all pastors. Appropriate materials have also been sent women's groups children and youth workers.

A five-session discussion guide and packet, "Our Community and Its Minority Peoples" is particularly appropriate for youth and adult groups. It may be ordered from Sales Literature, 222 South Downey, Indianapolis, at 35 cents each.

## Conference . . (Con'td. from P. 2, Col. 2)

make use of potential citizen leadership by creating opportunities for the unused citizen; (3) encourage volunteer citizen service in the community; (4) there must be more of "we" and less of "they."

### Some Significant Quotes

"70 out of 100 school children come from the lower socio-economic groups — more than 95 out of 100 teachers come from the middle class cultural groups. Thus their cultural habits differ from those of the children they teach and is one source of misunderstanding between teacher and pupil." *Allison Davis, Professor of Education, The University of Chicago.*

"We must have spiritually prepared and spiritually dedicated parents to stop the leak in the family roof. Parents must help children to experience God. Be at home with God in your home." *Hazen G. Werner, Bishop, The Methodist Church, Ohio.*

"The nation is knowingly short changing its youth in schooling and spending less of its national income on education than either Great Britain or Russia — America spends less for public education than for tobacco, than for liquor, than for cosmetics." *Dr. Benjamin Spock, Co-Director, The Rochester Child Health Institute.*

"We have learned how adults feel about our problems, and we have learned how to work and get along with other people." *A Youth.*

"We have learned that adults think 53 million of us are important." *Another Youth.*

"Today's children live in a world of unequalled prospects — and unprecedented danger. Modern technology has placed within the reach of all mankind the means to a better life. It has also fashioned weapons of destruction that threatens the human race with extinction. This and succeeding generations would be saved from the scourge of war if the Charter of the United Nations were faithfully complied with." *Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, The Republic of the Philippines.*

Conference Director Melvin A. Glasser expressed the deepest concern of the conferees when he said, "they want to make sure something is going to happen as the result of the conference. They want to see that the things we've produced won't die on someone's library shelf."

Tentative machinery was planned to make the findings operative on the state and local levels. So we can say that through the months and years ahead the Midcentury White House Conference will be coming to state and local groups over and over again for implementation in their areas in behalf of the children there.

R.E.M.

## Warburg Challenges . . .

(Cont'd. from P. 1, Col. 1, 2)

defending the Philippines, Okinawa and Japan. (3) Having decided that we can arm and at the same time maintain our own civilian economy, we are trying to persuade our European allies that they can do the same thing, i.e., re-arm without arresting their recovery. (4) We are now doing something that we have always assured the world we would not do — re-arm the Germans and the Japanese — despite the very serious effect that such action is bound to have on world opinion and despite the fact that even that will not produce a defense force sufficient to oppose Russian armies, should they decide to move into Western Europe. Since Mr. Warburg wrote the decision has been made to set up a joint Western European — U.S. defense force of 60 divisions under the command of General Eisenhower, in the face of Russia's warning that she will never "tolerate" such an action — the exact word used by the Chinese Reds with reference to MacArthur's move into Northern Korea.

### A Constructive Policy for Peace

Our present policy, unless supplemented by affirmative measures, says Mr. Warburg, is likely to lead either to war to the gradual absorption of all of Europe by Russia. Mere military power is an illusion unless it is implemented by a positive purpose and faith in the attainability of that purpose. There are certain changes in our foreign policy which must come if peace is to be saved. These are: (1) the rapid emergence of a new, affirmative American leadership; (2) re-orientation toward objectives that will command the allegiance of the majority of mankind.

This calls for (1) to get the world started on a new order in which universal disarmament becomes a practical possibility; (2) disengage ourselves as rapidly as possible from the job of global policeman, transferring the responsibility either to a strengthened U.N. or to a free world organized within the U.N. (3) The United Nations must be transformed into an organization capable of enacting, administering and enforcing world law. (4) A new approach must be made to the world economic problem to ameliorate conditions which arouse men to a sense of injustice and violence. The Marshall Plan was a move in that direction, though it was never conceived as a worldwide program of reconstruction and development. It was conceived as a part of the Truman Doctrine for Europe, and because of Russian obstruction, for only Western Europe, at that. The Point IV Program was pointed toward a similar high purpose, but has so far been a niggardly gesture in the direction suggested by the President.

The new policy must deal with the world economic problem, not segments of it. Efforts to "integrate" Western Eu-

rope completely ignores the fact that parts of Western Europe are more closely integrated with Asia, Africa and the Middle East than they are with one another. The new policy must also include a worldwide program of economic reconstruction cooperatively planned and administered through a central agency, not with the idea that the U.S. as the world's richest nation, must do the job. Two misconceptions are involved in the prevailing idea: (1) as to the world's available resources, they are greater than we think. (2) the tendency to assume that our economic strength is matched by a corresponding preponderance in brains and experience, and our right, therefore, to impose our judgment on the rest of the world.

This worldwide attack on human misery must draw stimulus from indigenous revolts against intolerance conditions instead of attempting to suppress revolution and maintain the status quo. Our present tendency is to hang on to what we have and to ally ourselves with others of similar intent. A start could be made if Congress would pass a resolution empowering U.S. delegates to the U.N. to propose a worldwide economic program designed to take advantage of the revolutionary spirit fermenting in the minds of the people of the world and to undergird their efforts to attain through democratic processes the better life they seek to achieve.

### War And . . . (Cont'd. from P. 1, Col. 3)

and participate in it. The difference between the two is that the latter accept responsibility, with all the compromises it demands, for civil order, and for maintenance by the necessary power, of freedom and justice; while the former preserves its witness only by disclaiming such responsibility. According to the report, this is as it should be, although the pacifist must remain a minority voice.

When one examines the report, however, this distinction disappears. For the report, which is a statement of non-pacifists (the only two pacifists participating in its formulation declined to sign it), comes to the conclusion that there are, or may be, conditions under which even non-pacifists must withdraw support of war. Two kinds of considerations weigh here. The first of motive. Christians cannot kill for the sake of killing, nor for vengeance, nor for "military expediency," but only in support of moral ends. The second is consequences. Even physical survival should not be "bought at the price of the nation's soul, of the moral values which make civilization worth saving."

The difference between the pacifist and the non-pacifist thus is not, as the report states but fails to support, that the one refuses to engage in deliberate and organized violence to preserve the social order, and the other reluctantly does so. But it is rather that on the ascending curve of violence in which nations engage, the pacifist withdraws his support at a lower point than does the non-pacifist. For

it turns out, according to the report, that there is a point on this scale where any one who would be Christian must withdraw.

It is in the light of this deep inner confusion in the report that one must consider its word on the primary problem which was given the commission; namely, What shall Christians do with respect to weapons of mass destruction? The commissioners are appalled at the price, moral and physical, which use of such weapons entail but nevertheless think that Christians must not forswear the use of any weapons whatever which are or may become in the future available. To do so would give in advance the promise of victory to the less scrupulous over the more conscientious and thus practically assure the dominance of the worst tyranny. The report holds thus, on the one hand, that Christians must be prepared to use all such weapons; and on the other, that there are some things a Christian cannot do, even to save civilization itself. Moreover, it is probable that any future war will be a struggle for survival in which all moral values and "the nation's soul" as well as its physical existence will be lost. Just what Christians should do when the struggle reaches this point the commissioners confess that they do not know. "What may and may not be done under God can be known only in relation to the whole, concrete situation by those responsibly involved in it."

Two members of the commission declined to sign the report, each stating in an appended note that these confusions fail to give the necessary and possible guidance from the Gospel.

The second part of the report addresses itself to the prevention of such a war. And here greater clarity prevails and wider acceptance may be expected. Just because the choices, in event of war, are so hopeless we must seek the more to avoid it. The commissioners agree (1) that "preventive war" is unthinkable; (2) that "moral and political strength is ultimately a larger factor than military strength" in withstanding the Soviet threat; (3) that every possibility to draw Soviet representatives into fellowship and constructive activities must be sought and used; (4) that we must champion and support with adequate means the just rebellion of Asia's millions against their present plight; and (5) that we must give evidence of genuine repentance of our many indignities to persons of color at home and abroad.

The Federal Council in assembly recommended the report for study by the churches. This recommendation should be widely heeded. It will be very disturbing to those who seek easy answers to today's tragic problems. Perhaps this will be its greatest value.

W.W.S.